10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

the machi and the one who goes with him; the same is true when the machi is first summoned, as I told you before.

TREATMENT OF THE SICK BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

In addition to the machi, others that have knowledge regarding the treatment of sickness are professional herbalists, midwives, and lay persons. Administrations of health restoratives by them are performed unceremonially. Lay persons generally know only household remedies; herbalists and midwives have specialized remedies used exclusively by them. Their medicinal knowledge is principally related to the curative effects of herbs, roots, and barks. Non-Araucanians spoke of professional herbalists as "useful herbalists," "wise herbalists," and "good general practitioners."

In all areas studied, herbalists were administering herbal decoctions, poultices, and heat; in Panguipulli and Cofiaripe areas, vapor baths and inhalations and bloodletting also. In no area was restoration of health attempted by bloodcupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, tattooing, making physical personal sacrifices, or by a change of name. Sick children were treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions for children were weaker or given in smaller doses.

Health restorative knowledge has its origin in dreams. Once acquired, however, it can be shared by willing persons with others, or can be bought by them. Said one informant, "I had hiccoughed for 40 years. Then, one night in a dream my dead aunt told me to find the plant chañchañ. I found it. I squeezed the juice of it through a cloth into water as cool as it came from the spring, and I drank it. That ended my hiccoughs." In Alepúe a man was bitten by a dog. A non-Araucanian herbalist used all remedies she knew for dog bites and swollen areas; none effected any relief. "The man was writhing in pain," she said. "Another Mapuche, our neighbor, said he knew the cure; that he had dreamed it. He wanted some hair of the dog that had bitten the man. I combed the dog's fur and gave him a handful of combings. He reduced the hair to ashes, and laid the ashes on the wound. Soon the pain began to subside; in three days that vicious-looking wound began to heal. The man recovered completely. The hair, so the Mapuche said, had to be that of the dog that had done the biting. His dream had told him that."

The anatomy of the human body is not known. Location of pain is usually designated by pointing to the place of the body where it is felt. If organs are spoken of, heart and stomach are synonymous.

Informants were not always willing to give information related to the restoration of health. We found a mother in a ruka preparing an

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The young man assented to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the 787
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he
told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. 539
The nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the fiachi at one gulp, and then tossed off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 787
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 787
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of
levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other 522
wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are everpresent, however, and must be dealt with continu- [578]
ally. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the *shompalwe* described earlier. In the Liumalla region, south 787
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my
residence of a young woman lost to a male *shompalwe*. A 752
woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

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girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things.

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things.

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams.

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself.

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi.